/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

• 166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [879] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage [166] between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [65] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

175 177 648 [166] *dation of the Spanish dominance* lasted from 1545 (when Fray Bartolomé de las Casas arrived with 17 Dominican friars) until 1600. During this period a vast movement of population took place characterized by changes in location of some towns, reductions, and congregations.

During the entire 17th and early 18th centuries, the *period of slavery and royal land grants*, Indians were subjected to heavy tributes and to forced labor on the plantations and in transporation systems of the encomenderos, as *tememes* or carriers. Great caravans of 300–400 Indians, at the command of 10 or 12 Spaniards, transported goods the 1000 km. from San Cristobal de las Casas to Veracruz. Many died from excessive loads and lack of food (B. Metzger, 1960, p. 19).

175 177 648 797 From about 1720 to about 1850 may be considered the *period of resurgence and autonomy of the Indian community*, when the system of royal land grants was suppressed, the Order of Dominicans was weakened, and Spanish authority became relaxed and even indifferent. Bishop Polanco sent a report in 1781 to the Royal Court of Justice of Guatemala, complaining of the abandonment of the Indians (Trens, 1942, p. 200).

> It is wondrous that in the town of Chamula, contiguous to Ciudad Real, Indians have need of interpreter to defend themselves or to beg for what they desire. So that they are as they were twenty years after their conquest; in such a state of blindness and ignorance they find themselves. In the town of San Andres, next to Chamula, there are many saints, old and indecent, whom I thought of burying; I did not do it because those evil souls say that they make them see clearly and alleviate their needs. I suspected a riot without having assistance . . . Oh, my Lord, their audacity and shamelessness are such that they even come to command in the church, without respect for the priest. They hold to the idea that the third person of the Holy Trinity is the Sun, because, they say, it was thus taught to them by the old fathers.

[P. 198-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

In their culture these people belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies.

The history of the ejido program in Tzo'ontahal in the first few years after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity.

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corporate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands acquired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns.

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937. One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique*, or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9).

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families migrated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

423 621 • 166 tlements were assigned to one of the two sections of the division in the center with an attempt being made to maintain a demographic balance. Incorporation of the new settlements was more effective in the case of the barrios than in the case of the colonias, which were farther away from the town center and included Indians of diverse communities. The process of 175 423 621 661 159 breaking away from the old community is illustrated by the 1961 move for independence made by the original settlers of the colonia of Caralampio. The following account was given by a man who was then secretary of the ejido:

The first settlers of San Caralampio, José, Pablo, Luciano, and Santos were self-appointed principales, *or head men, of the colony. Santos and Luciano were from the town center, and José and Pablo had worked on the ranch when it was privately owned. The colony was well populated and the people lived well—there were no fights nor any problems. In 1956 the four principales decided that they should separate from the center. They told the people that if each person would contribute twenty-five pesos, they would raise the issue of the division in the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *José invited Mateo, a man who knew how to read and write, to help them.*

"Let's divide from the town so that we alone will run the colony," he told them.

The principales took the money contributed and went to Tuxtla. There, in the Liga de Communidad Agraria *they asked for the separation, and were referred to the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *When they arrived there with their request, the commissioner said that he would have to communicate with the chief in Mexico.*

After this, Pablo came one day to the center. He spoke to the ejido commission: "Look here, José, Luciano and Mateo went to Tuxtla."

"What for?" asked the ejido president.

"They asked for a division from the town."

"Que pendejo!" *said the president. "What happened?"*

"What do you think?" asked Pablo.

"We are against it. If it was a new center, we would support you. But

Tz. Nah. E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NVO Tzelal NVO
Amatenango del Valle

[P.107]

TABLE 17. Choice Made in Response to Changes in Constitution of Family

Individuals with change in status	*Lives with parents*	*Lives with children in same house*	*Lives with in-laws*	*Lives with married child*	*Lives alone*	*Children of first marriage live with him/her*	*Children live with his/her parents*	*Moved to barrio*	*Moved to another town*	*Total*
Woman separated	6						1			7
Man separated	2									2
Widowed woman	1	14	3	2	1			4	1	26
Widowed man		3		1					1	5
Man remarried	1		1			1		1		4
Woman remarried	1	1				4	1		2	9
Total	11	18	4	3	1	5	2	5	4	53

392
E91
166
58

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

175 621 • 166 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175 161 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

175 161 area as a result of recurring epidemics. It has taken 180 years for the villages to double their population while Mexico as a whole has tripled it in 144 years, from 1793 to 1937 (Simpson, W., 1937: 149).

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHY: POPULATION INCREASE

Year	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1778	576	568
1958	1,337	1,034

621 166 More recently both communities have sent out some of their population to form colonias (small dependent settlements) in their rural periphery. Amatenango has formed four separate rural barrios (La Grandeza, Madronal, Yetahwitz and Patzhwitz) situated within view of the town, and two colonias (San Vicente and San Caralampio). Aguacatenango now has one colonia, called El Puerto. Most of its inhabitants are related to those of Aguacatanango; they moved down to El Puerto in the last thirty years, after the community lands had been expanded in that direction.

Political History

175 648 During Colonial times and the Independence period both villages shared the same types of relations with the outside world; these were mainly the payment of tribute in kind and services to the Spanish and Ladino (Local Mexican) authorities.

When first mentioned, the villages appear to have been

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

628 438 571 608 582 628 166 602 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, mentioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-community marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded cases of emigration from the village, some members of the community keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 [203] Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango, whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 [311] 312 628 776 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

423 recent grants of land, and also because the whole region of
621 Amatenango and Aguacatenango has less population pressure than the overpopulated Chamula area.

Membership

621 In the social dimension, one of the basic features of the corporate communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their criteria for membership: to become a member of Amatenango of Aguacatenango one has to be born in the village, or marry a village member.

Contractual membership, although rare, may occur, and has, but only for Indians, and with concensual acceptance by the whole
• [166] community. When the nearby fincas were closed after the Mexican
[195] Revolution, some of the Indian peones attached to them asked for and obtained land from Amatenango and Aguacatenango and became full members of these communities with the same rights and duties as any other community member. Although people can indicate who is a member of a new or old family, this distinction tends to be forgotten, even by the families themselves, after the next generation has been born and married into the village.

628 A man from another Indian community may receive an agri-
621 cultural plot if he makes a petition to the Ayuntamiento, is willing
423 to pay the ejido taxes and the limosna (tax levied against the
[65] household heads to support the expenses of celebration of village holidays) and a small payment to the Ayuntamiento (20 pesos) for handling his case. Even then, he has to bring witnesses to testify

628 621 423 to his good conduct, plus demonstrate that he is not able to cultivate within the confines of his own village lands.

621 423 166 Membership in the community requires residence within its territorial boundaries. If a person moves away from the village he loses the attached rights of membership, although at his return he can claim such rights back.

621 Maintenance of membership involves clearly specified duties (e.g., paying communal taxes), and the general obligation of living and acting in agreement with the cultural norms.

Government

All the male members of the community, ideally, and most of them in practice, participate (at some time in their lives) in the government machinery of the village.

621 794 Amatenango and Aguacatenango each have two governmental bodies, the Ayuntamiento (or civil body) and the Mayordomias (or religious body). (The distinction between civil and religious is not a sharp one drawn by the community members themselves. It is an analytical device to label the different functions of these two bodies which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents.)

621 The Ayuntamiento deals with secular matters: it administers the land, the relations with the outside world and the village taxations, and is in charge of the maintenance of social control through the application of the native system of justice (as against, and separate from, National or State Mexican law; see Metzger, D., 1956). Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for

Sample: 68 Households

592
464
166

		Men	Per Cent
A:			
	Never	12	17
	Pujiltic (sugar cane plantation)	49	71
	Fincas	5	3
	Carretera Construction: (1 month)	2	7
	Napite (school teacher for the INI): (2 1/2 years)	1	1
	Yerba Santa	1	1
	Total	70	100
B:	Period of work in Pujiltik:		
	1 week	29	
	2 weeks	15	
	3 weeks	2	
	1 month	1	
	Unknown	2	
C:	Period of work in Fincas:		
	1 month	2	
	2 months	1	
	5 months	1	
	3 years	1	
D:	Status:		
	Household Head	41	
	Son of household head	15	
	Da. Son of household head	2	
	Total	58	

		Women
II. A:		
	San Cristobal	12
	Teopisca	2
B:	Period of Work:	
	From 3 weeks to 3 years. Average: 12 months.	
C:	Status:	
	Widow	2
	Divorcee	1
	Single	11

Fig. 5.--Migratory Labor in Aguacatenango

462 [23] [24] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [817] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [205] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above), or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women. [558]

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

241 433 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 211 433 434 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

593 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
578 could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
[621] help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing-
[423] ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young
[476] man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's
425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough
464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a
166 common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a com-
[593] modity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and
62] refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and
156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

593 Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco-
592 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact
156 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
361 after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
361 591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[TEXT continued on P. 162]